20 The Development of Video Analysis

The Work of Charles Goodwin, Marjorie Harness Goodwin, and Christian Heath

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20.1 Introduction

When Harvey Sacks met Charles and Marjorie H. Goodwin at the 1973 Summer Institute of Linguistics in Ann Arbor, he had not gathered any videotaped materials himself, but was enthusiastic about the prospects of using video, and offered the Goodwins some videotape. Sacks knew that Gail Jefferson had been working with the Goodwins on a weekly basis, mentoring them with their dissertation materials as well as analysing video recordings of a variety of settings. After Charles Goodwin presented to Sacks his analysis of the interactive organisation of a sentence (described later in this chapter), Sacks immediately called his friend Manny Schegloff and asked that we have regular meetings in our apartment during the Summer Institute looking at the Goodwins' materials. Sacks felt that video, not audio alone, was critical to the enterprise of analysis of naturally occurring interaction. Sacks' enthusiasm for the use of video is made apparent in several letters he wrote, urging department chairs to hire the Goodwins. Indeed, during 1973 and 1974 when Sacks came to visit his colleague David Sudnow in New York, Gail Jefferson, and the Goodwins would participate in data sessions looking at videotape in Sudnow's New York apartment. This chapter discusses the pioneering work of the Goodwins – and the parallel studies by Christian Heath in the UK – and thus explicates the historical and conceptual basis of video analysis.

Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead (1942), in their classic study of Balinese character, were among the first anthropologists to use photography as a primary recording device in their fieldwork (Jacknis, 1988: 165). While their work has been critiqued as displaying selective bias in filming and editing (Jacknis, 1988), what is clear is that the intent of Bateson and Mead's study of Balinese character was to record long stretches of naturally occurring ordinary behaviour. As Bateson and Mead state, "We tried to shoot what happened normally and spontaneously, rather than to decide upon the norms and then get Balinese to go through these behaviours in suitable lighting. We treated the cameras in the field as recording instruments, not as devices for illustrating our theses" (1942: 49). Mead (1973: 257) called for field material "collected in large sequential and simultaneous natural lumps" and "long verbatim texts" rather than short ones, and argued that long middle-distance camera shots with minimal editing help avoid observer bias (1975: 9–10). In Mary Catherine Bateson's (1984: 163) words, her parents practiced "disciplined subjectivity", a form of objectivity that does not ignore the role of the observer, but instead explicitly considers it as part of the investigation. Thus, Bateson and Mead's ethnographic methodologies arguably constitute the foundation of the "naturalistic stance" and analytic stances adopted by many ethnomethodologists and conversation analysts, especially those pioneering video analysis. The analytic value of cameras and recording devices for Mead was that they "provide us with material that can be repeatedly reanalyzed with finer tools and

developing theories" (1975: 10). Sacks (1984[1]: 26), like Mead (1975: 10), believed that the value of recorded data was the virtue of their being capable of being interrogated again and again by the researcher as well as others. In the rest of this chapter we focus on the video analytic work of Charles and Marjorie Harness Goodwin and the parallel studies of Christian Heath, who were at the forefront of video analysis as a methodology in EMCA and drives studies now regarded as under the umbrella of "multimodal conversation analysis" (Mondada, 2018).

20.2 Fieldwork and Theory in Context

Capturing naturally occurring forms of cooperative action on videotape has been the hallmark of Charles Goodwin's career – from his earliest article (Goodwin, 1979) to his most recent capstone book (Goodwin, 2018). As a videographer of family therapy sessions at the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic in the early 70s, he became interested in mundane interactions between people, a concern that resonated with those of one of his professors at the University of Pennsylvania (Goffman, 1953: 3). At the clinic family therapists considered change in terms of *systems* of interaction *between* family members. An important idea developing from Charles Goodwin's classes with his adviser Klaus Krippendorff and readings of Bateson was the continuous mutual influence in real time among components as parts within a whole system over time. Fieldwork with archaeologist Gail Wagner and geologist Willard Moore at the University of South Carolina in the late 70s and 80s, and with Lucy Suchman at Xerox PARC on the Workplace Project (1989–91) at a large metropolitan airport, led to investigations of the multiple semiotic resources used by participants in endogenous pedagogy within professions.

Goodwin began to see that in addition to the stream of speech, structurally different kinds of sign phenomena, including tools and graphic and socially sedimented structure in the surroundings, as well as the body, are important for meaning-making. Actions are assembled and understood through a process in which different kinds of sign phenomena in diverse media, or semiotic fields, are juxtaposed, such that they mutually elaborate each other. A particular, locally relevant set of semiotic fields that participants orient towards in their actions constitutes what Charles Goodwin (2000) calls a *contextual configuration*. He developed this notion through his fieldwork in workplaces inhabited by archaeologists (2010), geologists (2018: 348–362), chemists (1997), oceanographers (1995b), lawyers (1994) and airport operations workers (Goodwin, 1996; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1996), in addition to investigating how children play hopscotch on the playground (2000; see also, M. Goodwin, 1998; 2006). When action is investigated in terms of *contextual configurations*, phenomena that are usually investigated separately are analysed as integrated components of a common process for the social production of meaning and action.

20.3 The Interactive Organisation of a Sentence and Distributed Speakership

Accomplishing social action requires that not only the party producing an action, but also others present, including addressees, are able to recognise systematically the shape of what is occurring. Social action has a public, prospectively relevant visibility, such that multiple participants can collaborate in an ongoing course of coordinated action. This visibility can be documented by video recordings and analysed in detail. Such video-based analysis casts doubt on a model of action that focuses exclusively on the mental life of a single participant, such as the speaker. It also denies the traditional linguistic analysis of sentences isolated from their emergent interactional context of production. In his seminal article "The Interactive Construction of a Sentence within Natural Conversation", Charles Goodwin (1979) argued, to the contrary, that

the production of an utterance by a speaker ("I gave up smoking cigarettes. l-uh: one- one week ago t'da:y. acshilly.") depended upon embodied interaction between the hearer as well as the speaker – during its course. The form of embodied uptake through gaze, gesture, facial expression and body position given by a hearer to the speaker's talk is critical to the evolving form an utterance will take. By using delaying devices such as phrasal breaks or restarts, lengthening sound articulation within an individual speech sound, and adding increments or "new sections, in the form of words, phrases, and clauses" (Goodwin, 1979: 98) to one's talk, a speaker can adjust the emergent construction of a sentence to the gaze and head movements of participants. In this manner a speaker can re-design the shape of their emerging utterance mid-course to render it appropriate for one's current hearer. Examining the gradual unfolding of embodied action through time is made possible with video recording.

Such forms of collaborative action become especially relevant when we investigate the communicative practices entailed in interactions with a man with severe aphasia. Although Chil (Charles Goodwin's father) had only a three-word vocabulary (*Yes, No*, and *And*), he nevertheless was a powerful speaker. Chil understood in great detail what others were saying. By using gestures and linking his limited speech to the talk and actions of others, he could produce complex statements by leading others to speak the words that he could not, and he could even claim authorship for them (C. Goodwin, 1995a; Goodwin, 2004). Aphasic individuals who lack syntax can competently participate through their embodied alignments (including prosodic ones) to ongoing talk. Chil became a competent speaker capable of finely coordinated action by building in concert with others the events that constituted his lifeworld. With this analysis of distributed participation, Goodwin showed that the unit of analysis needs to expand beyond the grammatical abilities of the individual to encompass multiparty sequences of talk and embodied action. More generally, the work showed that action within interaction is not found in the stream of speech alone, or in the organisation of language structure, but instead emerges through the meaningful multimodal frameworks created by acting and interacting bodies. Meaning-making thus emerges as what Garfinkel (1967: vii) considers a practical, contingent "ongoing accomplishment", which depends on the "organized artful ways" that ordinary people go about their daily lives, rendering them accountable and meaningful.

20.4 Mutual Monitoring and Participation

Goffman (1972: 63) defined a social situation as "an environment of mutual monitoring possibilities, anywhere within which an individual will find himself accessible to the naked senses of all others who are 'present,' and similarly find themselves accessible to him". He noted that (1972: 64) "it is possible for two or more persons in a social situation to jointly ratify one another as authorised co-sustainers of a single, albeit moving, focus of visual and cognitive attention". The phenomenon that Goffman drew our attention to was an insight that went beyond much earlier work in phenomenology, and the sociology that grew from it. It focused not on the sense-making of a single consciousness, but rather the interdependent organisation of mutual intersecting consciousnesses inhabiting unfolding time together within the lived experiential world of Schutz's "We Relationship" (1967). By focusing on the simultaneous organisation of consciousness, understanding, and experience, Goffman's notion of mutual monitoring goes beyond sequential analysis in CA, that locates understanding in subsequent turns rather than in the public interactive practices that shape an action, such as a turn, as it emerges within lived time.

In her discussion of forms of mutual monitoring occurring during video-recorded description sequences, Goodwin (1980) examines processes of modifying talk and actions in progress

through which a speaker attempts to obtain heightened forms of participation. When speakers provide evaluative descriptions of events and objects they can invite – indeed solicit – forms of appreciative commentary attuned to the affective valence of their own talk. For example, when a speaker at dinner wanted to convey the sense of awe she felt on encountering a large mansion of a friend, she lowered her body in two stages while stating "I thought we were in a museum or something." The "s" indicates a head shake.

      ((*lowers body*))   ((*lowers body again and hold it in place*   ))
Debbie: *I* thought we were inna °museum or something°. (- - - - - -)
Eileen: *((cutting food*   ....*))((Gazes at D))* S. ... .s... . s

Debbie's whispered voice over "museum or something" provided a sense of the richness of the house; this voice quality matched the speaker's own embodied portrayal of sensations during a past encounter. In response while speaker holds her body in a posture of amazement, one of the speaker's interlocutors, Eileen, initiates her own nonvocal attunement by providing "oh wow" lateral head shakes of appreciation (Goodwin 1980: 306). She ratifies the type of assessment called for in speaker's talk. When such displays of appreciation by a hearer are absent, a speaker might attempt to solicit more appropriate understanding – adding new segments to her emerging talk until the form of (nonverbal) alignment she seeks is achieved (1980: 310; Goodwin and Cekaite 2018: 26–29). The use of video allows us to see what concurrent embodied activity occurs in the midst of talk, rather than focusing simply on the stream of speech.

In traditional speech act theory if the hearer is considered at all it is in terms of speaker's projection about the hearer. However, if we take into consideration the notion of *participation* (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Goodwin, 2007), the hearer is just as active a coparticipant as the speaker (Goodwin, 1984; 1986). Recipients' renderings of talk can effectively shape the meaning of the speaker's talk and even its status as central or subordinate talk on the floor (Goodwin, 1997). During the course of a storytelling participants who are not principal speakers may elect to deal with talk in progress in other than story-relevant ways. Instead of displaying appropriate enthusiasm for current descriptions through questions, exclamations or brief comments, participants may open up a complex conversational floor which is simultaneous yet subordinate to the main floor being managed by the storyteller and principal addressed recipients through byplay, teasing, heckling or playful dealing with a description or story.

20.5 Practices of Video Analysis

Video thus makes possible an enhanced view of the participation of hearers. Documenting such interactive processes was made possible through use of a "not-so" portable reel-to-reel tape Sony Portapack video recorder (Goodwin, 1993). In 1970 George Kuetemeyer, a fellow Annenberg student at the University of Pennsylvania and friend of Charles Goodwin, set up a video camera in his dining room, and captured a half hour of a family of four and two guests eating a take-out Chinese dinner. This was the tape that launched C. Goodwin's work on the interactive organisation of a sentence. To obtain the dinner conversation used for examining "mutual monitoring" the Goodwins set up the portapack on a neighbour's porch (with camera person absent from the scene and stationed in an adjoining room). Obtaining a videotaped record of the flow of interaction was absolutely critical for investigation of how a sentence announcing giving up cigarettes or an assessment conveying rich affective stance was interactively coproduced and evolved through time. During weekly data sessions from 1973–4 the Goodwins, Gail Jefferson, and Malcah Yaeger-Dror closely examined conversations during dinners, block parties, and

picnics and at an Italian meat market that the Goodwins had videotaped with a Portapack, and Gail Jefferson had transcribed.

Crucial for the Goodwins was capturing exemplars of "focused interaction", described by Goffman (1963: 24) as "the kind of interaction that occurs when persons gather close together and openly cooperate to sustain a single focus of attention". Goffman (1976) argues that although talk occupies a central place in the organisation of interaction, conversation includes behaviour other than talk as well. Charles Goodwin (1981: 145–147) noted that in much the same way that participants can modify the course of the stream of speech, so too can they creatively reorganise the trajectories of nonvocal action. Participants have the ability to add new segments to units they are in the process of constructing on many different levels of organisation. In Chapter 4 of *Conversational Organization* (1981: 145–147) ("Modifying units of Talk to Coordinate Their Production with the Actions of a Recipient"), Charles Goodwin examines the artful accomplishment of the lighting of a cigarette amidst distractions that prevent a smooth completion of the activity. When B is asked to light her friend A's cigarette, B extends her lighter in mid-air (Figure 20.1) towards A, only to find the requester (A) occupied with her child (Figure 20.2). B then modifies her involvement with her lighter, producing a "repair" to the uncompleted action by fiddling with the flint of her lighter in a displayed attempt to fix it (Figure 20.3). Only when A dislodges herself from her child and turns towards B (Figure 20.4), does B extend her arm towards A. Through the addition of B's fiddling moves, collaborative action is achieved and the cigarette is successfully lit (Figure 20.5), as B's extended arm meets A's cigarette.

Significantly, the analysis of collaboration in lighting a cigarette was one of the first attempts to incorporate video images into an analysis of modifying interactive units in progress. The
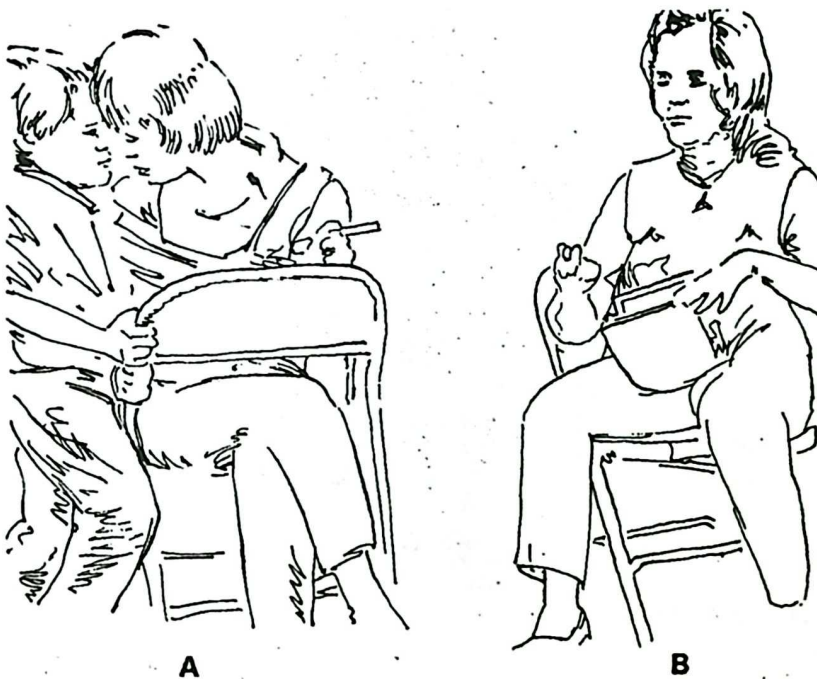

A   **B**

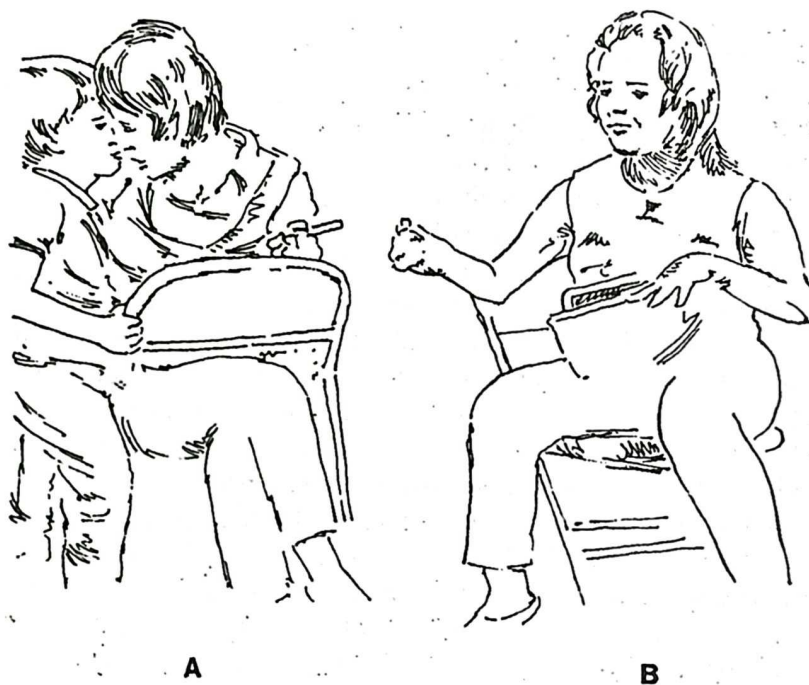*Figure 20.1* B responds to the request to light A's cigarette.

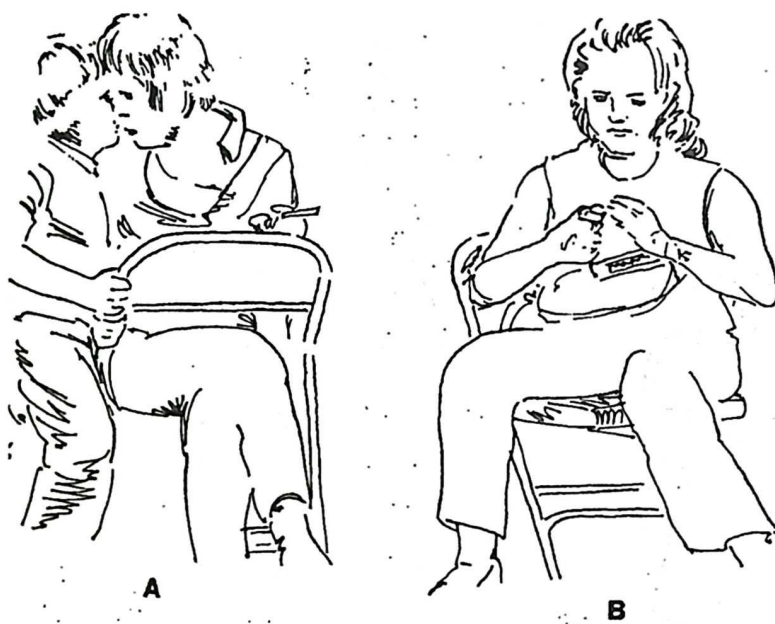*Figure 20.2* B sees that A is busy.

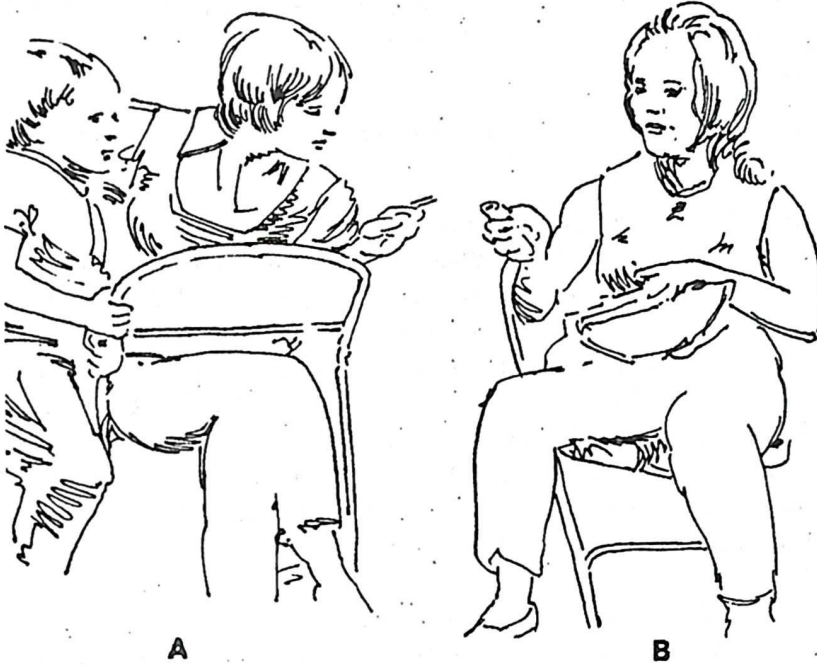*Figure 20.3* B modifies or "repairs" her movement.

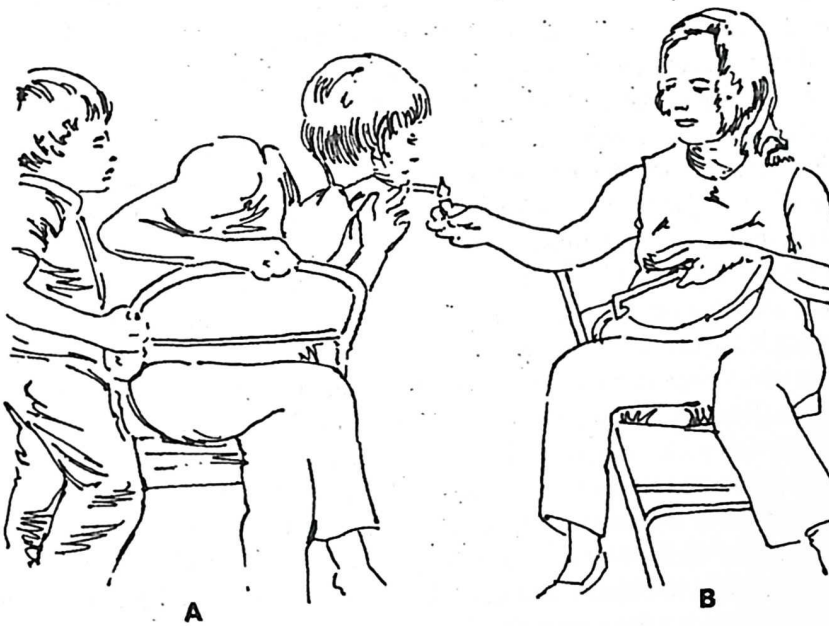*Figure 20.4* B extends her arm once A is no longer distracted.

Figure 20.5 A's cigarette is finally lit.

images were drawn by Gail Jefferson, who was deeply committed to providing documentation of the moment-to-moment achievement of collaborative action, visually as well as audibly, by placing saran wrap on the video screen and tracing the images.

20.6 The Parallel and Complementary Developments in Early Video Analysis of Christian Heath

Around the same time period the Goodwins were working with video in the mid-70s, a parallel but somewhat different trajectory for examining videotaped materials emerged in the work of Christian Heath in the UK. Heath's book *Body Movement and Speech in Medical Interaction* (resulting from his dissertation work) opens with a quote from Simmel regarding the importance of adequate description of interaction for a science of society (Heath, 1986: 1). While Heath mentions a chapter in Parsons' *The Social System* as important for launching studies of doctor-patient interaction, it is Everett Hughes's rich empirical ethnographically grounded work which was pivotal for Heath (Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002: 99). Heath, like the Goodwins, began with a deep concern for naturally occurring behaviour, though his starting point was from a sociological rather than an anthropological frame of reference, and his setting was a particular workplace: the medical consultation.[2]

Hughes (1971: 508) argued that the proper subject matter of sociology should be interaction, including "both verbal and other gestures". With his work on interaction in medical consultation, Heath (1986: 3–4) argued that traditional ways of analysing the medical encounter had ignored visual aspects of interaction. Heath's book *Body Movement and Speech in Medical Interaction* provided transcripts that include elements of visual behaviour which are "simplified versions of more complex maps" (Heath, 1986: xiv) as well as drawings to provide the reader more accessibility to visual features of the data. Heath argued that video and its possibility for unobtrusive recordings of visual and verbal aspects of the medical encounter might lead to a "scientific revolution akin to microscope biology" (1986: 4). Though focusing on the medical encounter, he found findings about the intricacy and precision of body movement in coordination with speech could be generalisable far beyond that particular setting (1986: 7). Indeed, Heath and colleagues' extensive body of work examines a range of settings beyond the medical consultation, including control rooms and operation centres of the London Underground (Heath & Luff, 2000), museums, and galleries (vom Lehn, Heath, & Hindmarsh, 2001; vom Lehn & Heath, 2005), operating theatres, and auctions (Heath, 2014).

Through his analysis Heath showed how body movement can be used to draw, maintain, and divert attention during consultations. In later work there was attention not only to the ways in which "talk is embedded in the material environment and the bodily conduct of the participants" but also to the ways in which objects and artefacts become momentarily relevant for the course of particular interactions (Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002: 102). Heath, like the Goodwins, combined rich ethnographic description with close analysis of bodily conduct. The practice of the use of frame grabs by the Goodwins and Heath provides access for readers to how gaze and the body are used conjointly, moment to moment, to constitute human action. Videotape is absolutely essential if we are to capture tacit features of everyday conduct in its endogenous settings – how people orient bodily, point to objects, and grasp artefacts in the immediate environment. Throughout Heath's work there is a focus on embodied action or "the ways in which the production and intelligibility of action is accomplished in and through bodied action, the spoken and the visible, and where appropriate, the use of various objects and artefacts, tools and technologies" (Heath & Luff, 2013: 295).

20.7 Conclusion

Rather than assuming that the situation provides the framework within which conduct takes place, as is often the case in anthropology, Heath and the Goodwins describe the ways in which participants constitute their situations and circumstances through social actions. Their work resonates well with Garfinkel's view that "the objective reality of social facts" constitutes "an ongoing accomplishment of the concerted activities of daily life" (Garfinkel, 1967: vii). While conversation analysis generally takes for granted that understanding is demonstrated in a *next utterance*, the Goodwins showed that the body of a recipient displays understanding *within* the utterance, while talk is ongoing; the utterance emerges through the cooperative work of speaker and hearer as they mutually constitute the turn at talk. Video thus made it possible to move beyond a logocentric view of communication to consider the multiple modalities through which action is accomplished, not only at the completion of a turn, but indeed in the very midst of a turn.

Notes

1 "I started to work with tape-recorded conversations. Such materials had a single virtue, that I could replay them. I could transcribe them somewhat and study them extendedly – however long it might take... . It was not from any large interest in language or from some theoretical formulation of what should be studied that I started with tape-recorded conversations, but simply because I could get my hands on it and I could study it again and again, and also, consequentially, because others could look at what I had studied and make of it what they could, if, for example, they wanted to be able to disagree with me". (Sacks, 1984: 26)

2 Heath (1986: 3) acknowledges the work of Bateson and Mead (1942) for its focus on visual communication as well as collaboration between Bateson and others at the Institute of Advanced Study in Palo Alto.

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